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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 363



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# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BACKGROUND OF PRC-USSR PAMIR DISPUTE REPORTED

Changchun SHEHUI KEXUE ZHANXIAN [ON THE SOCIAL SCIENCES FRONT] in Chinese  
No 3, 25 Jul 82 pp 164-170

[Article by Liu Cunkuan [0491 1317 1401]: "The Historical Background of the Pamir Dispute Between China and the USSR"]

[Text] If we open up the Atlas of the People's Republic of China we will find that the region of the Pamir, the western extremity of Xinjiang, from the Wuzibieli [Uzbel] Pass<sup>1</sup> to the south down to the Kekelaqukaole Peak (which the Soviet Russians call "Pavel Shveikovsky Peak") is designated as a not limited area. However, on the present-day Soviet Russian maps that area is shown as delimited, i.e., provided with a formal state boundary. The fact that the Pamir area is marked so completely differently on the maps of the two countries has naturally attracted general attention. On 16 June 1981, the Soviet Union concluded a treaty with the Afghan People's Republic in Kabul concerning their frontier from Lake Sarikol<sup>2</sup> to the Kekelaqukaole Peak area. On this occasion, China and the Soviet Union clearly stated their own differing positions. The crucial point is whether there is after all a "legally confirmed" fixed boundary in the Pamir area, or whether the area is still in dispute and not yet demarcated. How is this question to be cleared up and resolved? It requires an investigation into the history of the origin and development of the Sino-Russian dispute over the Pamir.

#### 1. The Origin of the Pamir Problem and the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Agreement"

The ancient Chinese name for the Pamir was "Congling"; located at the western extremity of Xinjiang, it was also commonly referred to as the "Roof of the World."

The Pamir is Chinese territory. For long periods of time in the past, China had set up administrative offices and frontier garrisons, levied taxes, ruled the people and exercised effective jurisdiction over this area. Originally there was no "Pamir question." How then did the Pamir question arise? For a discussion of this subject we must go back to the 19th century.

In the fifties of the last century, Russia suffered defeat in the Crimean War and was thwarted in the west. The tsarist Russian government

subsequently began to step up its unbridled aggression in the area of the Heilong [Amur] and Wusuli [Ussuri] rivers, as well as in Central Asia and in China's western border regions. In these moves Russia invaded Central Asia and China's western border regions not only with the intention of swallowing up territory, but also to advance toward the northern border of British India, with the strategic objective of "posing a serious threat of a possible future invasion."<sup>3</sup>

In the period between the sixties to the middle of the seventies, tsarist Russia extended its influence like a glacier on a southward move, sweeping across the Chinese Balkhash Lake, eastward and southward, expanding over the Kazakh plain and the three khanates of Kokand, Bukhara and Khiva. The Russians spread with the force of rushing waters and with an unparalleled arrogance. In 1876 the tsarist government bloodily suppressed an anti-Russian uprising of the people of Kokand and officially declared the annexation of the Kokand khanate, thus extending Russian influence along the northern borders of the Pamir. In the same year, the Russians organized the "Alai Expeditionary Force" under General Skobelev, famous for his cruel subjugation of Central Asia, for an invasion of the Alai valley and to raise the Russian flag over that area. One group of that force crossed the Outer Altai range and reconnoitred in the area of the Great Karakul Lake in the Heshikuzhuke Pamir and in the area of the Uzbek Pass and Akbaital Pass, all areas belonging to China. This was the beginning of the invasion of the Pamir staged by the armed forces of Russian. From that time on, there was no more peace and quiet in the mountain ranges of the Pamir.

Between 1877 and 1883, tsarist Russia despatched several "exploring expeditions" led by Sverzov, Mushketov, Putyata and others for an overall exploration of the Chinese Heshikuzhuke Pamir, Rangkul Pamir, Sarez Pamir, Archur Pamir, Great and Little Pamir and the Taghdumbash Pamir. They went so far as Wakhan in the south and Lake Issikkul<sup>4</sup> in the west and gathered much information useful for the later territorial demands in the Pamir that the tsarist government would make against China.

The tsarist government indeed followed up these intrusions and infiltrations by Russians into the Chinese Pamir with territorial demands against China. An agreement signed on 3 June 1884 between China and Russia, the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement,"<sup>5</sup> was concerned with this area.

The Sino-Russian "Kashgar Delimitation Agreement" is the fifth offspring of the "Revised Treaty" of 24 February 1881.<sup>6</sup> The "Kashgar Agreement" determined the Sino-Russian frontier from the Biedieli Pass through the Shyok Pass to the Uzbek Pass, and also determined the direction of the border running south from the Uzbek Pass. The sector south of the Shyok Pass in this arrangement concerns the frontier area and the direction of the border between China and Russia in the Pamir.

The Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" was an unequal treaty that Russia forced the Qing government to sign. It violated Article 3 of the 1864 "Sino-Russian Memorandum on a Northwest Border Agreement" and also Article 7 of the Sino-Russian "Revised Treaty," both contain clear provisions

on a frontier along the "crest of the Tianshan mountain range," while the Russians later insisted on declaring a branch range in the southeast of the main Tianshan range as a border and as a consequence assigned an area along the Aksai river north of Kashgar as belonging to Russia.<sup>7</sup> As to the border from the Shyok Pass to the Uzbek Pass, Russia violated Article 8 of the "Revised Treaty," which stipulated that representatives from both countries should proceed to the location of the border area for a survey and determine the border areas according to actual control exercised by both countries and affix border markers accordingly," while Russia unilaterally drew up a "map of the frontier" and forced it on China. On this map the section from Yi'erkeshitamu to the Uzbek Pass was all marked as border area "never before demarcated and was all onesidedly fixed as the Russians saw fit."<sup>8</sup> As a result, Russia arbitrarily marked many areas as Russian territory which at that time had been under Chinese administration, including the Tashkurghan Pamir area, which the Russian scouts had hardly explored.

The provisions of the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" about the direction of the Sino-Russian frontier south of the Uzbek Pass are similarly onesidedly drawn. In its Article 3, the "Agreement" says: Starting from the Uzbek Pass, "the Russian frontier turns southwest, while the Chinese border runs straight south." At that time the Qing government had established border stations at Tusiku'er (at the southeast end of the Tusiku'er Lake), and at Bashigongbaizi in the Pamir area west of the line from the Uzbek Pass straight south, "garrisoned by military forces,"<sup>9</sup> and had also ordered certain "Yzibaxi" (chiefs of a hundred households) to collect taxes and govern the people. This area was certainly under "effective control, exercised" by China. At Sumantashi, 10 li north of Yixi'erku'erzhao'er, there is still a tall and upright stone tablet commemorating the pacification of the great and little Hezhuomu dated the 24th year of Qian Long (1759), with the original inscription by Emperor Qian Long engraved on the tablet.<sup>10</sup> As the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" designated this triangular area, located between "the Chinese frontier running straight south" and "the Russian Frontier turning southwest (i.e., to the west of Yixi'erku'erzhao'er)," as an area still awaiting agreement, it is obviously disregarding the fact that this area was for a long time throughout history under the jurisdiction of China and opened this territory, where China has had effective control, to the danger that Russia would find one reason or another to occupy it.

Although the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" obviously was of such an unfair character, it nevertheless delimited the Sino-Russian frontier in the Pamir from Shyok Pass to the Uzbek Pass and clearly determined the southerly direction of the Sino-Russian frontier from the Uzbek Pass on. It is to this day the only treaty basis for the frontier delimitation between China and the Soviet Union in the Pamir region. This is so because before the conclusion of this agreement there had been no clear determination in any Sino-Russian agreements that dealt with border areas and frontier delimitations in the Pamir, and thereafter, up to this day, there have been no treaties or documents of any kind that delimited the borders in the Pamir between China and Russia, or between China and the Soviet

Union. It is therefore not possible to solve the Pamir dispute without a reference to the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement."

## 2. The 1894 Exchange of Notes Between China and Russia Concerning the Pamir Are Not Documents Regulating the Frontiers

Tsarist Russia showed an insatiable desire to invade Chinese territory. Whenever it forced a new unequal treaty on China, it was soon to violate that treaty and prepare for more exacting territorial demands on China. In the latter part of the 19th century, in the process of concluding unequal treaties with the Qing government on questions of territory and borders, tsarist Russia kept renouncing prior treaties, always reached out for a yard after taking an inch and never stopped demanding more. To achieve its objectives, it followed the principle of "effecting prior occupation in order to back up diplomatic negotiations."

In the case of the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement," tsarist Russia took the same attitude. A few years after signing the "Agreement," Russia not only sent officers of its General Staff, Grombchevsky, Ianov and others, with a column of soldiers to explore the undelimited area west of the line running straight south from the Uzbek Pass, but openly invaded the area east of the line, which the "Agreement" had clearly designated as the Pamir section belonging to China. Grombchevsky and his cronies even invaded the Kashgar, Yarkand and Hetian areas in southern Xinjiang and the northern Tibetan plateau.

In the spring of 1892, the tsarist government held two meetings, in which it plotted the occupation of the Chinese section of the Pamir west of the Sarikol range.<sup>11</sup> The Russian Chief of Staff, Obruchev, under orders from Tsar Alexander III, ordered Colonel Ianov of the General Staff to carry out a large scale invasion with a force of more than 1,500 men, to drive out the Chinese garrison, replace Chinese officials, to raze to the ground all Chinese border stations<sup>12</sup> and establish Russian border posts and garrisons near Liu'erawu, east of the Rangkul Lake, at Yisilike and Aktash, thus effecting a brutal military occupation.<sup>13</sup> By this invasion of 1892, tsarist Russia pushed the line of its military occupation right into the Chinese territory of the Sarikol range, and forcibly occupied over 20,000 km square of Chinese Pamir territory. This was a wanton disregard of the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" and a blatant violation of the agreement.

After establishing this fait accompli, the tsarist government intended to follow up by forcing the Qing government to sign a treaty that would legalize their action. On 15 November 1892, the tsarist Russian Minister to China, Cassini, was ordered by his government to demand of the Chinese Ministry in charge of Foreign Affairs that "a division of the Pamir be negotiated." He furthermore produced a map, unilaterally drawn up, with the demand that the Sino-Russian frontier should "run east and then south from Uzbek Pass" along the Sarikol ridge.<sup>14</sup> The Qing government designated its Minister to Russia, Xu Jingcheng [6079 2529 3397], and an attache of its embassy in France, Qing Chang [1987 1603], to take up the negotiations with Russia for a

a delimitation of the Pamir boundary. The negotiations lasted uninterrupted for almost one and one-half year, from the middle of November 1892 to the middle of April 1894. Because the Russian side stuck from beginning to end to its position of maintaining the occupation in violation of the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" and insisted on drawing the frontier at the Sarikol line, namely the line of their military occupation, the negotiations failed to achieve any result. The representatives of the Qing government firmly insisted on "negotiations based on the Kashgar<sup>15</sup> frontier agreement,"<sup>16</sup> and demanded that Russia withdraw its troops from east of a line that runs straight south from the Uzbek Pass. In the negotiations with the Russian Foreign Minister Giers on 16 and 17 April 1893, Qing Chang sternly pointed out, fully certain of the justice of his stand, that his three principles were: "to maintain friendly relations, to observe the Kashgar Agreement and to stop further troop movements into the area." He scathingly refuted the Russian intention of permanently occupying the territory in violation of prior agreements and various other absurd ideas of the Russian side. However, tsarist Russia chose to break off the negotiations and tried to use rather despicable methods, such as the threat of armed force, secret negotiations with the British for a partition of the Pamir, with the purpose of forcing the Qing government to accept the Russian plan in toto. The Qing government would not agree to that and the negotiations reached an impasse.

In December 1893, Great Britain and Russia had indeed reached an agreement in principle on the partition of the Pamir.<sup>19</sup> With its occupation of the Chinese Pamir territory, tsarist Russia had already its spoils firmly in its grip and had no further fear of the Qing government. The reason Russia negotiated at all with the Qing government was because it feared that the Qing government may have the secret support of Great Britain. Now that the partition of the Pamir had been decided upon between Russia and Great Britain, the tsarist government was relieved, because from now on it could spread out the Anglo-Russian secret agreement on the partition of the Pamir in front of the Qing government, that could do nothing about it. Furthermore, soon afterwards Japan started its invasion of Korea and the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 was about to erupt, leaving the Qing government in the dilemma of not being able to attend to the affairs in the east as well as in the west at the same time. Russia took advantage of China's precarious situation and tried to get a temporary agreement from the Qing government for a preservation of the status quo in the Pamir, which it could later misconstrue to justify an indefinite occupation. It is under these conditions that four notes were exchanged between China and Russia in 1894 on the Pamir questions, namely:

On 11 April 1894, the tsarist Russian Foreign Minister Giers suggested to Qing Chang, the representative of the Qing government, that since the negotiations had reached a stalemate, "it is therefore impossible to arrive at a settlement," and that in his opinion one should agree on "an intermediary arrangement," namely "that prior to a settlement, China would agree not to send troops into the area, while Russia would also order its commanders in the border region to remain in their original positions and not to advance any further, so as to facilitate further negotiations and avoid incidents."<sup>20</sup> Qing Chang asked to be allowed to consult his government.



On 12 April 1894, the tsarist Russian Foreign Minister officially advised the Chinese Minister in Russia, Xu Jingcheng, as follows: "Since Russia and China hold divergent views on the Pamir question and an immediate understanding is difficult to achieve, the Imperial Government believes the best method to avoid misunderstandings and possible conflicts is to maintain the present peaceful situation. Each side shall maintain its position and should instruct its authorities in charge to not advance beyond the said positions. It seems that prior to a final settlement, the present conditions might well be maintained, and in our opinion this condition will not give cause to any trouble in view of the peaceful attitudes of our two governments and our aspirations in maintaining friendly relations. If any dispute should arise or new negotiations be started, further negotiations shall take place in Beijing." It was a time when the Qing government wanted to avoid any conflict with Russia on China's western border and therefore found itself compelled to yield temporarily. On 17 April, Xu Jingcheng, under orders from his superior authority, notified the Russian side of China's agreement, namely that "prior to a final settlement of the Pamir questions between China and Russia, both sides shall order their authorities in charge to maintain their positions and not advance beyond these positions." However, in the same note, the Qing government insisted on two important reservations:

"First, that adopting the above-mentioned measures shall not be construed as China relinquishing its rights to the Pamir areas even though presently not occupied by Chinese troops. It reserves its rights based on the 1884 border agreement, until such time that a satisfactory settlement will be arrived at.

Second, that adopting the above-mentioned measures shall not be construed as a conclusion of the present negotiations."

On 18 April, Xu Jingcheng again advised Giers that China "ordered the Chinese authorities in charge not to advance beyond the positions presently held by them until China and Russia shall have reached a final solution of the Pamir boundary question."

On 23 April, Gries replied to Xu Jingcheng that Russia "had correspondingly ordered the Russian authorities in charge not to advance beyond the positions presently held by them until China and Russia shall have reached a final solution on the Pamir boundary question."

The above are the four notes exchanged between China and Russia on the Pamir question. The character of these four notes is perfectly clear: they do not constitute a delimitation of a boundary. They are mutual communications that clarify the standpoints of the invading side, Russia, and the invaded side, China. They are notes which in the face of the stalemate of the 1892-1894 Sino-Russian negotiations in Pamir signify an agreement between the two parties to maintain temporarily the status quo in the said area. The four notes use the term "prior to a final settlement," or some similar term, namely of the settlement of the Sino-Russian dispute over the Pamir. The Chinese side stated in its note in clear and unequivocal terms

that maintenance of the status quo "was not to be construed as China relinquishing its rights to the areas of the Pamir not presently occupied by Chinese forces." That means that China did not divest itself of its rights to the territory of the Chinese Pamir west of the Sarikol range that tsarist Russia occupied. China also made it clear that it "preserves its rights based on the 1884 boundary agreement." In addition the Chinese notes also point out that maintaining the status quo "must not be construed as a conclusion of the present negotiations." This makes it quite clear that the 1894 notes are not notes to delimit the boundary and that they are not at all a final solution of the dispute between China and Russia over the Pamir.

It must be pointed out that the Soviet Russian interpretation of the 1894 notes has not the slightest justification. On 11 August 1981 a statement by the Soviet Foreign Ministry arbitrarily asserts that the Sino-Russian exchange of notes in 1894 constituted documents that delimited the frontier. The statement says that there is a Sino-Russian (Sino-Soviet) "boundary line" in the Pamir from the Uzbek Pass south along the Sarikol ridge, that this "boundary line" has been "historically established" and "legally affirmed by the 1894 exchange of notes," and that any talk of a disputed area on the Sino-Soviet border in the Pamir is a "fabrication by Beijing." The statement also says that "the demarcation of this section of the border on Chinese maps is the same as on Soviet maps, namely along the ridge of the Sarikol mountain range."<sup>22</sup> Even before the above statement was made, Prokhorov had written that the 1894 exchange of notes "in actual fact acknowledges that the border between the two countries runs from the Uzbek Pass along the ridge of the Sarikol mountain range."<sup>23</sup> Every word of this is complete falsehood.

The Soviet allegation that a "historically established border line" exists from the Uzbek Pass south along the ridge of the Sarikol mountain range does not even deserve a refutation. There has never been a "border line," only a line of military occupation by Russia.

The notes exchanged in 1894 are definitely not documents delimiting a frontier. Evidence for this, apart from the clear statements in the documents themselves and the important reservations made by the Chinese side, are the following facts:

First, in his note of 11 April 1894 the Russian Foreign Minister Giers, when suggesting to Qing Chang to maintain the status quo in the Pamir, already stated as the purpose of his proposal that both sides shall refrain from troop movements "prior to a settlement, in order to facilitate the negotiations and avoid incidents." This shows that the Russian side recognized that the border "had not yet been negotiated and determined," and that the maintenance of the status quo was "for the purpose of facilitating the negotiations" and did not constitute a delimitation of the border.

Second, on 23 April of the same year, i.e., on the day when the Russian side sent its last note, Giers told Qing Chang that the present exchange of notes was "only an agreement to refrain from further troop movements by both sides,"

and that the Sino-Russian border in the Pamir still "awaits further negotiations and overall delimitation."<sup>25</sup> If the 1894 exchange of notes had indeed been documents that delimited a border, as the Soviet Foreign Ministry now says, why would the Russian Foreign Minister Giers, a man who personally participated in the exchange of notes, say that the Sino-Russian frontier in the Pamir was still awaiting future delimitation?

Third, on 26 March 1926 the Chinese side sent the Russian side an aide-memoire which said: "The Pamir is Chinese territory. In 1892 the former imperial government of Russia pretended it would use the area only temporarily, but then despatched troops into the area and forcibly occupied it. This case has remained unsettled up to this day." In its memorandum of 14 April of the same year addressed to the Chinese side, the Soviet side indicated: "In places that have so far remained undelimited, frontiers will have to be newly delimited separately."<sup>26</sup> The "so far undelimited places" are in fact the areas of the Pamir.

To sum up, there is ample evidence in the exchanged notes themselves, in the utterances of the party that personally participated on the Russian side and in the memoranda exchanged between China and Soviet Russia in the 1920's to the effect that the 1894 notes exchanged between China and Russia on the Pamir question do not constitute border delimitations. The evidence shows that there exists a territorial dispute between China and Soviet Russia regarding the Pamir. If the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union wantonly distorts the historical facts, stubbornly asserts that the 1894 notes constitute documents of border delimitation and that the territorial dispute between China and the Soviet Union in the Pamir "has been fabricated by Beijing," it is nothing but a case of lame excuses and fallacious reasoning. This fallacious theory of the Soviet Foreign Ministry can also not find support in the book "The Sino-Soviet Border Question" by the Soviet academician Prokhorov, published in Moscow in 1975. The author stubbornly defends the territorial aggression by tsarist Russia against China, but when "proving" that the 1894 notes are "border delimiting documents," he lets the cat out of the bag. He writes: The notes exchanged in 1894 determined that "prior to the final delimitation, the Sino-Russian frontier shall run along the crest of the Sarikol mountain range."<sup>27</sup> Since he is admitting that there had been no previous delimitation, how can it be said that the notes contained a delimitation?

The Soviet Foreign Ministry's further assertion, that the demarcation of the Pamir on Chinese maps is identical with that on Soviet Russian maps, is even more inconsistent with the facts. The Soviet Union unilaterally and without the slightest justification marked a line of military occupation, which it had inherited from old Russia, as a frontier line that has already been delimited. China has never acknowledged this. Maps published by China have always marked this border as an undelimited border area, quite different from the way the Soviet Russian maps are marked. Who would have thought that the Soviet Foreign Ministry would cook up a story like this and spread it around!

### 3. The Anglo-Russian Partition of the Pamir and the Soviet-Afghan Boundary Treaty of 1981.

On 22 July 1981 the Chinese government solemnly declared that the "boundary treaty," presumptuously signed between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan delimiting a frontier from Lake Sarikol to the Kekelaqukaole Peak is illegal. This was a well-justified act, and an act beyond reproach, to protect the Chinese sovereignty. However, the Soviet Foreign Ministry, to disguise the illegal nature of its action, "proved" its "legality" in a statement dated 11 August 1981, stubbornly insisting that "the questions regulated by the said boundary treaty concerned only the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and no one else." It also slandered China by alleging that China "wantonly meddles in the relations of other sovereign states," "tells sovereign states which boundary treaties may and which may not be concluded," and "puts forward illegal territorial demands against the Soviet Union."<sup>28</sup>

It is really true that the Soviet-Afghan boundary treaty "only concerns the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and no one else"? When referring to a map of the Pamir, we see that Lake Sarikol is on the "direct line south" from Uzbek Pass. Drawing a line from Lake Sarikol to the east to Kekelaqukaole Peak this line is in the region of the Great and Little Pamir<sup>29</sup> and east of the "direct line south" fixed in the 1884 border agreement and therefore, according to agreement, belongs to China. This is Chinese territory forcibly and outrageously seized in 1892 by the armed forces of tsarist Russia in violation of the 1884 border agreement. If prior to the settlement of the Pamir question between China and Soviet Russia, a boundary treaty is signed with a third party concerning land that according to an agreement belongs to China, can one still say that this is "of no concern to anyone else" and of no relevance to China!

As to the term "only concerns the Soviet Union and Afghanistan," as used in the Soviet-Afghan Treaty, this is even less justifiable, and there is quite a complex history behind it:

It is well known that in the latter part of the 19th century, Great Britain and Russia were fierce rivals in Central Asia. The forceful southward thrust of Russian aggression and the clamor of an "invasion of India" by way of Central Asia, had political circles in Great Britain extremely perturbed. In January 1873, Russia and Great Britain, arrogating rights to themselves which did not belong to them, concluded the Granville-Gorchakov Agreement and marked off the Sarkol Lake and the area west of it (including some parts of the Chinese Pamir) as the two countries' spheres of influence.<sup>30</sup> In 1892 Russian troops illegally invaded the Chinese Pamir areas west of the Sarikol ridge and thus started taking action behind the ongoing negotiations between China and Great Britain on their partitioning the Pamir. After a protracted period of haggling, and taking advantage of China's great difficulties following its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, Russia and Great Britain--behind China's back--came to a final agreement on partitioning the Pamir,

concluded on 11 March 1895. This agreement decided to separate the spheres of influence between the two countries on a line from Lake Sarkol straight east "right up to the Chinese border," everything north of the line to be Russian sphere of influence and everything south of the line to be British sphere of influence under the administrative control of Afghanistan.<sup>31</sup> A joint commissions that was headed by Pavel Shvekovsky as Russian representative and Jielede [phonetic] as British representative was engaged from July to September in delimiting although without proper authority--the "boundary" and putting up border markers along the line from Lake Sarikol eastward to the Sarikol ridge according to the illegal Anglo-Russian agreement of 11 March 1895.

The above is in rough outline the course of the Anglo-Russian partition of the Pamir. This partition, carried out by Russian and British imperialism without any participation of China, was an unbridled plunder of territory that belonged to semicolonial China and was as such an illegal action. At that time, the Qing government of China protested and solemnly declared: "The action of Great Britain and Russia of delimiting a boundary without regard for any authorization from China amounts to a forcible occupation and is incompatible with the accepted codes of conduct." The government also wired Yu Jingcheng and the Chinese Minister to Great Britain, Xue Fucheng [5641 4395 2052], "to raise strong protests with the Russian and British foreign ministries, based on existing agreements,"<sup>33</sup> and decided that "this matter must be taken up again" at a later date.<sup>34</sup> All succeeding Chinese governments have refused to acknowledge the legality of this partition.

It must be firmly asserted that the agreement signed by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on 16 June 1981 on the direction of the Pamir section of their boundary involves precisely the section of Chinese Pamir that Russia and Great Britain split between themselves in 1895, and that Russia and Great Britain at that time determined as their "boundary line." This fully demonstrates that the Soviet authorities are now continuing the entire policy of aggression as an inheritance from tsarist Russia. The statement by the Soviet Foreign Ministry only mentions that the said Soviet-Afghan agreement affirms this section to be the "presently existing boundary" between Soviet Russian and Afghanistan, but avoids all mention that this "presently existing boundary" is derived from the loot that the tsarist government and Great Britain shared between themselves, and that it was tsarist Russia that definitely got the larger portion of the loot. The fact that the Soviet authorities now conceal the evil doings of their ancestry proves irrefutably that Russia intends to forcibly occupy the Chinese areas of the Pamir which tsarist Russia had illegally invaded, for all times to come.

If the Soviet Foreign Ministry criticizes China in a provocative manner for "telling sovereign states what treaties to conclude and which ones not to conclude," this is pure slander committed with the ulterior motive of disturbing the relations between the Chinese and the Afghan peoples. To interfere in the mutual relations of other countries is a custom with Soviet hegemonism, but has nothing to do with China. What China did was merely to point out the illegal action of Soviet Russia in concluding a boundary treaty with a third country concerning territory that by agreement

belonged to China, because Soviet Russia in no sense had any right to sign such an agreement. As China has done merely what any sovereign state would have had to do, is there anything wrong in China's action? According to the "theory" of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, would it not also be interfering in the "mutual border relations" of "sovereign states," if one were to criticize the 1895 Anglo-Russian partition of the Pamir?

In 1895, when Russia and Great Britain partitioned the Pamir, Afghanistan was still a British dependency subjected to much bullying and humiliations. In the 1895 partition of the Pamir by Russia and Great Britain, Afghanistan itself played no role at all. At that time the Russian Lieutenant General of the Army Jielianjiefu [phonetic], when discussing the partition of those days, had to admit: "Russia and Afghanistan delimited their borders, but only the British and Russian signatures were recognized on the agreement, while Afghanistan stood aside like a young orphan not yet of age; that was something absurd."<sup>35</sup> At that time tsarist Russia only respected Great Britain, but had no respect for Afghanistan, that too is absurd!

The history of the Sino-Russian dispute over the Pamir tells us: The source of this dispute had been created by the encroachment on Chinese territory by tsarist Russia. The reason why this major historical case, left pending for so long, still remains unsettled to this day is purely that the Soviet authorities have inherited the mantle of the old tsarist invaders of China and maintain the intention of forcibly occupying the Chinese Pamir for all times to come. To accomplish this, the Soviet authorities did not shrink from falsifying history, spreading false rumors and distorting the 1884 boundary agreement and the 1894 exchange of notes, flatly denying that there is any territorial dispute in the Pamir between China and Russia. They declare the line of tsarist Russia's military occupation as "permanent state boundary," and went even so far as to conclude without proper authority a "boundary treaty" with a third country over territory in the disputed area that by agreement should belong to China. Not only that, a Soviet academician had the impudence to proclaim that the Soviet Union "has the right to occupy territory east of the Sarikol, such as the Tanghdumbash Pamir."<sup>36</sup> The typical hegemonistic stand of the Soviet authorities is increasingly alarming the Chinese people and all neighbors of the Soviet Union. We believe that the only just way to solve the dispute over the border territory is to follow existing treaties. If not basing on presently existing treaties, on what else could a settlement be based? In the case of the Pamir dispute between China and Soviet Russia, the only treaty that presently exists is the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" of 1884. Any other solution which exceeds or disavows this boundary agreement is unworkable.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Also called Wuzibieli Pass [written in different characters].
2. Lake Sarikol, which the British sometimes calls Lake Wood or Lake Victoria.
3. Engels, "The Foreign Policy of Tsarist Russia" in "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Chinese edition, Vol 22, p 50, fn 1.

4. Murjaev, "In Far East Asia," Moscow, 1956, pp 78 and 129; Alder, "British India's Northern Frontier," London, 1963, p 220; Sikelin Nadingge'er [phonetic], "Ma Jiye in Kashgar," Norfolk, England, 1973, p 12; Ivanov, "Report of a Journey to the Pamir," n.p., n.d., pp 2-3
5. Also called the Kashgar Northwestern Border Agreement.
6. Also called the Il Treaty, in Russian texts called the St. Petersburg Treaty.
7. Qian Xun [6929 1852], "Deliberation and Commentary on Sino-Russian Boundary Treaties," Boundary Treaties, 5, p 3.
8. "Atlas of Xinjiang," Vol 8, State Boundary Atlas, 4, p 13.
9. "Posthumous Writings of Xu Jingcheng" Vol 7, p 8.
10. Jia Qing, "Institutions of the Qing Dynasty" Vol 10, Board of Revenue, p 40.
11. Jielianjiefu [phonetic], "History of the Subjugation of Central Asia" Vol 3, St Petersburg, 1906, p 408; Haerfen [phonetic], "The Union of Central Asia with Russia," Moscow, 1965, p 398; Iskandarov, "East Bukhara and the Pamir at the End of the 19th Century," Vol 1, Dushanbe, 1962-1963, p 289.
12. Curzon, "The Pamir and the Source of the Oxus," London, 1898, p 46; Dunmore, "The Pamirs" Vol 2, London, 1893, pp 108-109.
13. Tagaev, "In the Land of Towering Mountains," Moscow, 1904, pp 134 and 140; Dunmore, op. cit., Vol 2, p 177; Sven Hedin, "Through Asia" Vol 1, London, 1898, pp 188-192; Sikelin Naidingge'er [phonetic], "Ma Jiye in Kashgar" p 65, Cobbold, "Innermost Asia", London, 1900, pp 260-261.
14. "Posthumous Works of Xu Jingcheng" Vol 2, Memorials, pp 5-6.
15. That is the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement."
16. "Posthumous Works of Xu Jingcheng" Vol 4, Official Communications, p 14.
17. Ibid., Vol 7, Letters, 3, pp 25-31.
18. Ibid., Vol 8, Letters, 4, pp 4-8.
19. Sikelin Naidingge'er [phonetic], "Ma Jiye in Kashgar" p 78.
20. "Posthumous Works of Xu Jingcheng" Vol 8, Letters, 4, p 33.
21. That is the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement."
22. Tass Agency wire, Moscow, 11 August 1981.

23. Prokhorov, "On the Sino-Soviet Border Question" p 173.
24. Ibid., p 173, fn 1.
25. "Historical Material on the Foreign Relations of the Qing Dynasty," Guangxi Reign, Vol 89, p 12.
26. New China News Agency wire, Peking, 31 August 1981.
27. See on p 173 of said book.
28. Tass Agency wire, 11 August 1981.
29. Curzon, "Map of the Pamir and Central Asia-India Border Region" 1896, see Cobbold, "Inntermost Asia," map attachment.
30. "Parliamentary Papers" of Great Britain, "Correspondence Between Great Britain and Russia on Central Asia," 1873, pt. 1, item 5.
31. "Agreement Between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia on Their Spheres of Influence in the Pamir Region" in Alder, "British India's Northern Frontier," London, 1963, appendix 7, pp 334-335; Cobbold, "Innermost Asia," appendix 9, pp 344-345.
32. Jielianjiefu [phonetic], "Subjugation of Central Asia" Vol 3, pp 420-422. Note: The furthest eastern section of this "border" is at the Kekelaqukaole Peak of the Salikol range. The Russian side illegally named it the "Pavel Shvekovsky Peak" after their chief delegate who drew up the "frontier."
33. "Atlas of Xinjiang" Vol 9, State Frontiers, 5, p 20.
34. "Historical Material on the Foreign Relations of the Qing Dynasty," Guangxu Reign, Vol 113, p 16.
35. Jilianjiefu [phonetic], "Subjugation of Central Asia," Vol 3, p 420.
36. Prokhorov, "On the Sino-Soviet Border Question" p 169. The Taghdumbash Pamir lies in the area of Tashgurghan inside the southern part of Xinjiang.

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CSO: 4005/71



## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPROVEMENT OF POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL WORK DISCUSSED

#### Constructive Criticism Needed

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 82 p 18

[Essay by Li Ruiling [2621 3843 3781]: "Sincere Advice Jars the Ear and Sincere Advice Pleases the Ear"]

[Text] "Good medicine tastes bitter but cures sickness; sincere advice jars the ear but benefits one's conduct." This venerated famous saying is quite instructive to those who turn a deaf ear to criticism.

However, for a long time I have had a different idea. I feel that, from the point of view of the critic who thinks of curing sickness to save a patient, if he can turn the case of the sincere advice that jars the ear into one of the sincere advice that pleases the ear, would not that be even better? Not long ago, when I heard about the achievement of Comrade Li Yanjie's [2621 3601 2638] work regarding backward youths, this feeling on my part deepened, there was this episode. One youth used to wear a cross on his lapel, when leaders of his unit criticized and reproached him, their words not only failed to take any effect but even provoked his antagonistic sentiment of "just wanting to show you." But, a mere chance of walking along the same road gave Li Yanjie the opportunity to impart to this youth certain esthetic viewpoints and historical knowledge, with a sincere and helpful attitude, was sufficient to "calm him down" and enable him to realize how ignorant and stupid he was and took off his cross. The reason Comrade Li Yanjie was able to become the youth's good teacher and beneficial friend, apart from his being good at enlightening the youth's thinking with philosophical, interesting and broad knowledge, another important reason is that he is good at using sincere advice that pleases the ear to warm and influence the youth's heart.

Indeed, criticism is very different from commendation and is not so good to hear; this is why there is the saying good medicine tastes bitter and sincere advice jars the ear. But, if all critics can follow Li Yanjie's example in stressing the art of criticism and turning medicine into something tasty and sincere advice that pleases the ear, the result would be considerably different. An incident encountered recently by this writer may also serve to illustrate the question: There was a fighter in an artillery company who went to another company to visit the relative of a fellow native fighter; he returned to his

own company late and held up the whole company's training. A leader of his company reproached him, saying that since he was so "oblivious of his organization and discipline, he might as well take off his uniform and return to civilian life!" Upon hearing this, this fighter was upset and depressed. Another leader eventually talked to this fighter; at first he cordially asked him about the current situation in his hometown and family, then he opined: "When you saw a person from your hometown, you could hardly avoid saying a few cordial words; I feel the same way. As the saying goes, a person from the same hometown makes you feel close whether he is a relative or not, and waters in your native place look pretty whether they are really pretty or not. But have you ever thought about how important 'discipline' is to a soldier? Take your artillery platoon for example, it is engaged in coordinated training. When you alone are absent at the time of training, the whole platoon's training is ineffective and this affects the improvement of all your skills; when you alone are absent at wartime, the whole platoon would be unable to go forward and that would bungle the chance of winning a battle." These understanding and reasonable words on the part of this leader made the fighter nod his head repeatedly and he gladly acknowledged his error.

In contrast, these two ways of airing a criticism can well explain the problem. The former leader's criticism is not necessarily wrong; it could well be regarded as sincere advice that jarred the ear; while his motive was above reproach, its result could often be other than good. But, with patient and careful advice that pleases the ear serving his ideological work, the latter leader was able to make the fighter gladly acknowledge his error. Examples like this can be frequently taken from our daily life. We often say that we must enhance the effectiveness of our ideological and political workers; here a person at such ideological work resorting to providing sincere advice that pleases the ear is precisely one of the important means of enhancing such effectiveness. Those comrades who are good at doing their ideological work usually understand this "secret" very well.

To provide sincere advice is really rather important; but to succeed in doing so is by no means an easy matter. It would not do to try to master this art of criticism without doing some hard work. In the first place, one must have a desire and deep affection of wanting to cure the sickness to save the patient toward the person being criticized. In this way can one pour in one's true feelings when one helps others and thereby utter words that warm the hearts of others. Secondly, one must be good at sensing the mind of the person being criticized, at grasping where the crux of the problem is; only thus can the critic have a definite objective and speak to the point. Furthermore, one must be well cultivated, control one's impetuosity, control one's critical tone, avoid simplicity and crudeness or oppressing others with power or with rationalization. The reason why in the case of some comrades their motives are good but their results are poor, the key is they lack patience, often seize on a comrade's mistake or weakness with excessive tenacity, too eager to scold them in the first instance no matter what might have happened; this approach can hardly be acceptable to the person being criticized; it might even provoke further contradictions. Many facts prove that to emphasize the propriety of criticism is a very important link in doing a good job in one's ideological and political work. Therefore, it is hoped that all those who

are engaged in ideological and political work would, like Comrade Li Yanjie, turn sincere advice that jars the ear into sincere advice that pleases the ear and hence to a good job in their ideological and political work.

### Ideology, Not Fines, Promoted

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 82 pp 19-20

[Essay by Sun Tianmou [1327 1131 5399]: "'Fines' Cannot Take the Place of Ideological Work"]

[Text] Recently I went to gather news and discovered that cadres of political work in some units, seeing that managing economic work by economic means proved very effective, started to rigidly follow suit by "creating" an approach of substituting economic means for political and ideological work. These units went through a great deal of trouble to come up with things like "Regulations Governing the Imposing of Fines for the Maintenance of Stability and Unity" and formulate things like "Regulations Governing the Imposing of Fines to Stop Fighting and Beating Each Other," etc. "Regulations" of this kind make one thing salient: that is substituting money for hard, methodical political and ideological work, constraining people's thinking and conduct with money.

Can "fines" really take the place of political and ideological work and reap the expected results? Please take a look at the following two stories:

One has to do with a company at a farm where during the period of summer hoeing a couple started to quarrel with each other. The reason was that the husband did not like the loose way the wife squandered his money; the wife did not want to give in and went to the company headquarters to register a complaint against her husband. Upon hearing that it was a quarrel, the company headquarters without uttering a word immediately invoked the "Regulations"; giving as its reason that "such a quarrel at a time of busy summer hoeing affects the company's production," the company headquarters simply fined the couple 5 yuan. The husband was actually a meticulous person who watched every penny; once he heard about being fined 5 yuan by the company headquarters he immediately flew into a rage and gave his wife a thorough beating, conflicts between the couple not only were not solved but deepened.

The other has to do with a certain unit where a staff worker heard someone say that the company headquarters no longer wanted the fruit trees along the road; he immediately believed what he heard and dug up a few of them and took them home. After the company headquarters learned about this, it fined him 30 yuan according to the "regulations" without asking questions. The more this staff worker thought about this, the angrier he became; he therefore stole a few hand grenades and nearly blew the cadre who imposed the fine on him to pieces.

From these two examples, it is not difficult for us to see: be it quarreling or digging up trees, the people involved had their faults, those who served as cadres on political work should have gone to investigate and study, understand the whole process through which the events took place, understand the reasons,

grasp the essence of the problems, carry out patient, careful persuasion and education, induce the persons involved to acknowledge their wrong-doing or encourage them to consciously make the pertinent restitution; this would have made the problems easy to solve. But the actual happenings ran counter to this; the cadres on political work in these two units adopt a bureaucratic attitude of simplicity and crudeness, took money as omnipotent and thought that it could help implement the ideological and political work among men; but the results have turned out to be exactly the opposite, with contradictions radicalized instead.

However, some cadres on political work are still imitating approaches similar to these as if they were pertinent experiences, and they even feel quite good about them. This cannot but make one feel worried. Political and ideological work is difficult; it definitely cannot hope to become effective "by way of some short-cut." In order to do a good job in our political and ideological work, we must earnestly change our bureaucratic workstyle, go deep down in the midst of practical work, understand new situations, study new problems, and explore a set of laws in our political and ideological undertakings so as to gain experiences in political and ideological work.

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CSO: 4005/60

## PARTY AND STATE

### HU YAOBANG'S REPORT AT 12TH PARTY CONGRESS STUDIED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "A Good Study Experience"]

[Text] When organizing the party members and cadres to study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the Huiyang prefectural party committee particularly guided them to concentrate intensively and carefully on a part of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, viz., "a Historical Transformation and New Great Tasks," thereby giving them a pleasant feeling right at the beginning and raising their consciousness in studying. It formed a sharp contrast with the attitude of some comrades who paid no serious attention to studying on ground that the first part of the "report" dealt with things of the past. It appears that the experience of Huiyang prefecture is good and can serve as a reference by the various areas.

When studying the first part of the "report," by linking it with our personal knowledge and summarizing the basic experience of bringing order out of chaos, our comrades will feel a close affinity with it. The reason is because all our comrades personally participated in the practice of bringing order out of chaos, underwent the ideological emancipation and saw with their own eyes the tremendous power of the principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session in reversing the course of events. As long as we study conscientiously, we will understand that the great historical transformation is primarily the reestablishment of the Marxist ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. It will produce an excellent impact on our future effort to rectify the ideological line more successfully, purge the negative consequences left by the 10-year civil strife and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress creatively.

As aptly put by some county party committee secretaries in Huiyang prefecture, once one has learned the first part of the "report," one will understand completely the declaration of the 12th Party Congress on the great historical transformation achieved throughout the party and the nation after the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session. These are not empty words, but are completely

compatible with the objective facts. It is because, on the basis of re-establishing the Marxist ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, we have realized a stable and united, vivid and lively political situation, resolutely shifted the emphasis of party and government work to economic construction, gradually readjusted, reorganized and reinforced the party and government leadership teams of the various levels, placed educational, scientific and cultural work on the right track and made certain progresses, and exerted a vigorous effort on building the army and the party and produced marked achievements. All these are not empty words or platitudes, but tremendous accomplishments already made, a record of historical facts, and truths tested by practice.

Did we not say that the 12th Party Congress is a congress with the great historical significance of "carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future?" Learning the first part of the "report" will give us a deep understanding of this truth. It is because, if we truly understand that we have achieved a historical transformation and see that, with the devastations in the 10-year turmoil and the myriad tasks awaiting to be done, a vital and flourishing scene has emerged in our fatherland, we will understand completely that the command issued by the 12th Party Congress to totally unfold a new phase of the socialist modernization construction and the correct programs, principles and policies formulated by it are not proposed out of the thin air, but the replenishment and development of the lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session, an inevitability of historical development and a reflection of the urgent desires of the 1 billion people, compatible with the developmental laws of objective reality.

In a word, learning the first part of the "report" will lay a crucial foundation for the study of the 12th Party Congress documents and the understanding of its spirit, give us a good start for our study, and promote its in depth development.

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CSO: 4005/42

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS STRESSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Conscientiously Study the Documents of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] The three-level cadre meeting called by the provincial party committee devoted its time and energy on studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Though the meeting lasted only a few days, the comrades concentrated their attention on studying the documents conscientiously, comprehensively and intensively, discussed them section by section and produced good results. It was a study meeting led by the leading cadres. Many comrades said with deep feelings: Sitting down to concentrate on studying the documents and mutually enlightening one another have not only improved our ideological awareness and stimulated our communist spirit, but also given us a good idea on organizing the studies when we return to our units. It is a good beginning, and it has provided experience for launching provincewide studies generally and intensively.

At the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang appealed to the party committees of all levels to consider the study of the 12th Party Congress documents a major task. In accordance thereof, the [Guangdong] provincial party committee has made concrete arrangements. Each and every comrade must fully recognize the extreme importance of the study and consciously handle it as a political task. As proved by experience, if we wish to maintain ideological and political unity with the Party Central Committee and have full confidence in implementing the party's programs and goals, we must study. Let us review the past: The fact that many areas, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, properly implemented its lines, principles and policies, developed rapidly and made great transformations was all because they conscientiously studied its documents. It was an important experience. Today, if we want to unify our thinking on the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, we must properly study its documents.

To do so, we must study them section by section and truly understand their spiritual essence. Meanwhile, we must link the study with a review of the party's lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Each and every one of our comrades took part in the practice of bringing order out of chaos after the Third Plenary Session, had personal experience in the ideological emancipation and in breaking down the "leftwing" fetters, and saw with their own eyes the tremendous power of the party's correct policies. Therefore, studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress in conjunction with the lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session will enable us to understand deeply why it is said that we have accomplished a great historical transformation. We will truly understand that the great historical task of unfolding a new phase of the socialist modernization construction is an inevitability in the development of history. We will understand that the strategic goal proposed by the 12th Party Congress is a magnificent plan based on the successful practice of the economic construction in the past few years and the scientific analysis of the coming 18 years. By studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, we will deeply understand that the series of policies introduced in our province in the past several years on opening the door to the outside and enlivening the economy at home is completely correct, to be more firmly implemented today and perfected in the course of implementation. By so doing, we will properly solve the issue of the continuity of policies and overcome our fear of policy changes, thereby advancing on the momentum of victory with full confidence to build a socialist material and spiritual civilization.

The documents of the 12th Party Congress are contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. When studying them, we should link our study with the relevant expositions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, especially those connected with dialectic materialism and historical materialism, in order to trace the source. It will lead to our thorough understanding of the spiritual essence of the documents from the height of theory. The documents are permeated with the scientific thinking of materialist dialectics. Explaining the profound in simple terms, they contain, for instance, concise and comprehensive scientific analyses of the relations between politics and economics, between material and spiritual civilizations, between the communist ideological education and the current policies, and between economic benefits and developmental speed, of the dual policy of the socialist cause (opening the door to the outside and enlivening the economy at home on the one hand and firmly cracking down on the serious criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural realms endangering socialism on the other), of firmly deploying the struggle against "leftwing" and rightwing mistakes, etc. Studying the documents, we feel very close to them. Our study will have an extremely crucial significance in intensifying our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and of the documents themselves.

We must realize that, since a while ago, an undesirable practice has been found in the study of political theories, i.e., contentment with



superficial understanding. Some comrades often fail to concentrate on studying the material; instead, reading them over once, they stop after acquiring a little knowledge, or even ramble about everything under the sun apart from the basic spirit of the documents. Such attitude and method will make it impossible to truly understand the spiritual essence of the material. To truly understand the spiritual essence of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, we must, on the basis of comprehensive and intensive studying, first link them with the ideological reality, and unify our thinking on the programs and the principles and policies decided by the congress. Meanwhile, we must, under the guidance of the basic spirit of the congressional documents and in accordance with the reality of our particular areas, departments and units, study and formulate various measures and methods to implement the spirit of the congress and actively initiate a new phase.

To place the study of the 12th Party Congress documents in the foremost position and consider it a major task does not mean that other work may be postponed, to be performed after our study. Studying cannot replace work; on the contrary, it is precisely for the purpose of effectively promoting the progress of the various tasks, so that we will, under the guidance of the spirit of the congress, initiate a new phase for our tasks. Currently, there is much work to be done. We must further emancipate our thinking and enliven the economy. We must strive to complete, and complete above norm, the agricultural and industrial production and the various economic plans for this year. The appeal to "make this year better than the last" proposed at the beginning of the year must be vigorously achieved. The strengthening and perfection of the responsibility system on all agricultural, industrial and commercial fronts, the deployment of technical reform and technical innovation, the improvement of the realm of circulation, the building of a spiritual civilization and the combat against the serious criminal activities in the economic realm must be pursued more thoroughly and more successfully. We must also, by means of studying the new party constitution, make proper preparations for convening the provincial party congress and, at the same time, ideological preparations for the party's rectification to be launched in the second half of next year. In short, we must fulfill the demand of the provincial party committee: "Do not wait to study; do not wait to propagandize; do not wait to work."

The 12th Party Congress has presented before our eyes the highway to an enduring political stability and steady economic development. As long as we give serious attention to studying, are skillful in studying, and struggle vigorously, concretely and persistently, a new phase of the socialist modernization construction will be totally unfolded and the magnificent goal proposed by the 12th Party Congress achieved.

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CSO: 4005/42

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPROVING PARTY WORK STYLE SAID KEY TO BASIC IMPROVEMENTS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "The Key Is the Basic Improvement of the Party Style"]

[Text] The report on how Qiongzhan county, in the course of rectifying the unhealthy trends, conducted a communist education of the cadres and produced obvious results is well worth reading. It will help us understand the crucial importance of improving the party style and the spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress.

In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang appealed to the entire party to strive, in the next 5 years until the next congress, to achieve the basic improvement of the state fiscal and economic conditions, of the social mood and of the party style. The three basic improvements are mutually linked and mutually promotive, but the key is in the improvement of the party style. The fact that, starting from its own reality and rectifying the serious unhealthy trend among a part of the leading cadres who had built private homes illegally, Qiongzhan county effectively promoted the socialist economic construction throughout the county illustrates this important principle.

As the party in power, our party, after a long revolutionary struggle, enjoys a high prestige among the masses, and the people deeply understand that, without the Communist Party, there would have been no new China and our socialist modernization will not be achieved. We must firmly believe that the party's leadership will grow ever more obvious and ever more effective in the new phase of the socialist modernization construction in the future. However, we must also soberly realize that, due to the serious wounds suffered by our party in the 10-year civil strife, its prestige has been damaged. Since the Third Plenary Session, party building has been strengthened and the party style has gradually improved, but the improvement is not basic. In some areas, the unhealthy trends in the party are still widespread in a shocking way. The facts in these areas

most clearly indicate that, if the issue of the party style is not solved, it will be very difficult to change the social mood and carry out the economic construction.

The conditions in Qiongsan county in recent years were precisely thus. More than 100 cadres of the level of assistant bureau chief and above built private homes, and a large portion of them, to different degrees, were built illegally. In the course of doing so, some people even embezzled public funds, accepted bribes and turned into serious economic criminals. Under the pounding of this evil wind, many cadres lost interest in their work, "discussing houses" at work and "moving rocks" after work. It became impossible to organize the cadres to proceed to the rural areas. Running counter to the party's superior tradition, this gust of evil wind caused people to abandon their communist revolutionary ideals and spread bourgeois individualism. If the situation was not firmly corrected, how could the masses be led to build a socialist material and spiritual civilization? It was not surprising that the work in Qiongsan county had failed to progress in recent years.

Nevertheless, today, Qiongsan county has begun to change. It is most heartening. Isn't it a fact that some comrades today do not have much confidence in improving the party style and in its basic improvement within 5 years? Seeing the changes now underway in Qiongsan county, these comrades will increase their confidence.

As everyone knows, the number of counties like Qiongsan with its widespread unhealthy trends, its weak party and government leadership and its inability to send the cadres to the rural areas is extremely small in the province. Many people felt that such areas were hopeless and that there was no way to rectify the unhealthy trends. Nevertheless, the Qiongsan county party committee felt otherwise. In the past year, they concentrated on the prominent issue of private home construction, took a clear-cut stand against the unhealthy trend, firmly and promptly handled the major and crucial cases, severely punished the criminals who had seriously violated party discipline and state law, and handed them over to the judicial department for legal sanction. What was of special importance was that they were skillful in stressing the typical cases, reinforced the communist ideological education of the party members and cadres, and enabled the broad party members and cadres to strengthen their communist revolutionary ideals and criticize individualism with a target in mind. By placing ideology in the lead and rectifying the party style, they made many cadres involved in the illegal construction of private homes begin to voluntarily correct their mistakes, and promoted the smooth progress of the struggle against the unhealthy trends; they began to make an obvious improvement in the cadre style, and large groups of cadres consciously proceeded to the rural areas, helping the peasants fully implement the party's rural policy, effectively activating their enthusiasm and assuring the marked growth of the agricultural and industrial production throughout the county; they gave the broad peasants

peace of mind and rapidly restored and enhanced the party's prestige among the masses, and the masses began to develop patriotism and their love for the collective. Naturally, Qiongsan county's effort to improve the party style was only a good start, and much work has to be done in the future. However, since Qiongsan county, beset with such serious problems, could rapidly correct the party style, what grounds do we have to doubt that other areas can also make a basic improvement of the party style?

The report of the 12th Party Congress pointed out: "The party's ideological construction is the pillar to build the spiritual civilization of the entire society." The key to the three basic improvements is the basic improvement of the party style. We hope that all areas, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, will start from the reality of the particular areas, reinforce the party's ideological construction, improve the party style, bring along the style of the masses and effectively promote the socialist modernization construction.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### REPORT OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Guidance Material in Studying the 12th Party Congress Report," Parts 4 and 5]

[Text] What is a high degree of socialist democracy? Why is a "high degree of centralism" not mentioned?

Comrade Hu Yaobang declared: "Building a high degree of socialist democracy is our basic goal and one of our basic tasks."

Then, what is a high degree of socialist democracy? According to our understanding, it refers to the broadest democracy enjoyed by the worker class and the broad masses in a socialist society. It is a state system, i.e., on the basis of ownership and control, in different forms, of the production means, all the people enjoy together the supreme right to manage the state. Concretely speaking, it includes the following three aspects:

1. The people are the masters of the state and have the right to manage the state and the enterprises. It is the essence of socialist democracy. By means of the National People's Congress and the staff and workers' congress, their right is gradually perfected and concretely protected and enlarged. It is far superior to the bourgeois democracy.
2. The socialist democracy is built on the foundation of production means public ownership. As the economic base, public ownership will gradually create the conditions and protect the people's concrete exercise of their democratic rights, such as scheduling the necessary time for political activities, providing propaganda and information by seeking the truth from the facts, making actual use of the best printing tools and meeting grounds, etc. On the other hand, the employment of the tools of democracy in capitalist countries is almost completely under the control of the bourgeoisie.

2. The socialist democracy extends to all aspects of social life and serves as the effective means for the solution of the contradictions within the people and for the people's self-education. In accordance with the principles of the socialist democracy, our country has built and will continue to develop the relations of equality among men and the correct relations between individuals and society. It is something which is basically impossible for the capitalist countries to attain.

Naturally, our socialist democracy is not yet perfect. It must, in particular, be closely linked with the socialist legal system, in order to be further legalized and systematized. Therefore, achieving the goal of a high degree of socialist democracy is an extremely formidable task.

In that case, why is "a high degree of centralism" not mentioned at the same time? Because the socialist democracy refers to China's state system, which indicates the class essence of the state. Democracy as a state system is not in terms of relative centralism; therefore, the question of "a high degree of centralism" does not exist. Furthermore, the state apparatus of any type of country is the centralized expression of the will of the ruling class; there is no state which is not centralized. The distinction between the natures of states is which class exercises dictatorship and whether the majority or the minority enjoys democracy. Therefore, "a high degree of centralism" is not an issue when discussing the state system.

The word "centralism" commonly used by us refers to democratic centralism. It indicates China's political system. In China, the National People's Congress, the various levels of local people's congresses and other organs of the state all follow democratic centralism. As stated by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report at the 12th Party Congress, "we must, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, continue to reform and perfect the political and leadership systems of the state and enable the people to exercise their state powers more effectively and the state organs to lead and organize the socialist construction more efficiently."

What is the basic policy of the Party Central Committee on the class struggle in China's present stage?

Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report: "We must make the proper spiritual preparations for a protracted struggle, perform the dictatorial functions of a state under the people's democratic dictatorship and apply the Marxist class viewpoint in handling the current social contradictions and social phenomena in China bearing the nature of the class struggle. It is the basic policy of the Party Central Committee on the class struggle in China's present stage."

Why must we make spiritual preparations for a protracted struggle? Because the class struggle within a certain sphere will remain for a long

time in China's society. There are three main reasons: First, it is basically impossible to purge completely, within a short time, the remnant poison of the exploiting system and exploiting class in history in the various aspects, especially the ideological aspect. The corruption, theft and bribery perpetrated by some individuals are, to a large extent, due to the ideological influence of the exploiting class ideology of profiting by the toil of others. Second, China's unification has not been finally completed. We still find ourselves in a complex international environment, and capitalism and certain influences hostile to China's socialist cause still corrode and subvert us. In addition to sending spies for disruptive activities, such corrosion and subversion include also the degenerate capitalist ideology which, with China's introduction of the open-door policy, seizes every opportunity to infiltrate, thereby corroding the weak in our ranks. Third, China's economy and culture are still relatively backward, and it is impossible for the young socialist system, with its many imperfections, to completely prevent the corruption and degeneration of certain members of society, including certain party members, and to put an end to the emergence of an extremely small number of exploiters and various kinds of hostile elements. Measures on the prevention of some cadres from utilizing their functions to seek private gain or even to embezzle large amounts of state and collective assets, of the corruption and bribery, speculation and profiteering committed by certain members of society in the realms of production and circulation, etc. are very imperfect. In view of the above reasons, the protracted presence of the class struggle in China within a certain sphere will remain an objective fact.

Though manifested in manifold aspects, the class struggle is mainly embodied in the struggle of the broad masses against hostile elements of every hue deliberately disrupting and sabotaging the socialist system in economics, politics, ideology and culture, and social life. Such struggle has the import of a direct class struggle and seriously hampers the consolidation of China's socialist economy and political system. Therefore, we must firmly perform the dictatorial functions of a state under the people's democratic dictatorship, ruthlessly crack down on the hostile elements and punish them according to law.

Since the class struggle within a certain sphere will remain with us for a long time to come, and since it possesses at times the import of a direct class struggle (struggling against the hostile elements) and at other times certain attributes of the class struggle (struggling against the incorrect words and acts of those within the people seriously influenced by the exploiting class ideology), then, the Marxist class viewpoint is definitely not outmoded. If we abandon the class viewpoint, we will fail to recognize clearly the nature of the class struggle and confuse the social contradictions of different natures. One crucial factor for some comrades to treat casually the serious criminal activities in the economic realm in a previous period was their failure to analyze the criminal activities with the class viewpoint, thereby resulting in their

inability to recognize in such activities the actual reflection of a serious class struggle against the socialist system. Obviously, as long as the class struggle exists, we must use the class viewpoint to analyze and handle the social contradictions and social phenomena bearing the nature of class struggle. Naturally, the large number of social contradictions which do not belong in the realm of class struggle must be solved by means of democratic centralism.

Why are sabotages in the economic, political and cultural realms not considered as ordinary criminal acts?

Today, we are waging an intensive struggle against the serious criminal activities in the economic and the political and cultural realms. Such activities are not ordinary crimes or ordinary anti-social acts, but significant manifestations of the class struggle under the new historical conditions upon China's introduction of the open-door policy toward the outside and the policy of enlivening the economy at home.

Why is it so? Because ordinary crimes are acts endangering only the interest of a certain aspect of society. While crimes causing serious accidents, crimes of beating and injuring, etc., for instance, also endanger public security, the consequences of such crimes do not involve the overthrow and subversion of the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system. The serious sabotages in the economic, political and cultural realms are otherwise.

First, in terms of the source of such sabotages, they are the reflections of the corruption and corrosion of the capitalist ideology. In China, the exploiting system and the exploiting class have been eliminated, but the class struggle still exists within a certain sphere, and the influence of the decadent exploiting class ideology remains fairly serious. In recent years, with the introduction of the open-door policy toward the outside and the policy of enlivening the economy at home, the international bourgeoisie and domestic hostile elements, feeling the presence of opportunities, have intensified their activities to infiltrate and corrupt our ranks with the capitalist ideology and living pattern, soliciting and bribing by all kinds of means the very small number of weak-minded among our party members and cadres for the purpose of making large profits on the one hand and rocking the people's political power on the other. In the political and cultural realms, there are also hostile elements of every hue, either making counterrevolutionary propaganda, inciting the resistance of the masses and disrupting the enforcement of the laws and decrees of the state, or utilizing feudal superstition to launch counterrevolutionary activities, or promoting "cultural smuggling" and peddling contraband propaganda material. Meanwhile, in our party, government and army, there is indeed a very small number of people who, unable to withstand the test, have degenerated and deteriorated and taken the path of seriously violating party discipline and state law. In nature, such



sabotage activities are attacks on socialism launched by internal and external forces hostile to the socialist cause.

Next, in terms of consequences, such sabotage activities gravely endanger the security and consolidation of the socialist political power. As fully indicated by many shocking instances of criminal economic activities, the present problems are far more serious than those at the time of the "movement against the three evils" in 1952. Among the various criminal cases, many of the offenders are party members and cadres, even involving individual leading cadres with certain authority. They seriously devastate construction, disrupt social stability, contaminate the social mood, corrupt man's thinking and life and, like termites, endanger the socialist mansion. The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. The very small number of degenerates within the party and the hostile elements in society, collaborating with one another within and without, have caused great losses to the body of our party and revolutionary ranks. If permitted to develop, they will inevitably destroy our socialist cause. The effect of such sabotages is far beyond that of ordinary crimes. Therefore, the sabotage activities in the economic, political and cultural realms are not only manifestations of the class struggle, but its significant manifestations.

Why must "democracy serve as the means of the people's self-education?"

The main reasons are as follows:

1. It is determined by our state system. The draft revision of the constitution reads: "The people, in accordance with the stipulations of the law and by means of all kinds of channels and forms, have the right to manage the affairs of the state, the economy and culture, and the affairs of society. The socialist democracy is found in the political, economic, cultural and social lives of the people. When democracy serves as the means of the people's self-education, it will help the citizens in exercising their legitimate rights and performing their proper duties to the state and society and in building their democratic habits and understanding how to correctly exercise their freedoms and rights, how to correctly defend the interest of the state, society and the collective, and how to respect the freedoms and rights of others. Handing over the draft revision of the constitution for popular discussion, for instance, is determined by our democratic system and serves as a good means for the self-education of the masses. By way of discussions and making suggestions, the masses enhance their concept of the legal system and learn the distinctions between observance and violation of law and between rights and duties.

2. It is the need for the full development of the people's initiative and enthusiasm. Today, our country has entered a new historical period. In regard to the large numbers of internal contradictions and the ideological issues and questions of right and wrong within the people, if we do

not follow the democratic method and educate and convince the people, but resort to coercion, arbitrarily telling them what to do, we will not only fail to produce any result, but also suppress their initiative and enthusiasm. As proved by practice, in regard to issues within the people, we can only solve them by means of criticism and self-criticism and self-education. Let us give an illustration: The recent "economic situation education" activities enabled the masses, by means of "presenting the figures and making an itemized account," to recognize the benefits brought to their lives by the Third Plenary Session, thereby receiving an education, overcoming the muddle thinking found among some of them and strengthening their enthusiasm for the modernization construction.

3. It helps in mediating promptly the disputes among the masses and preventing the aggravation of contradictions. The basic level social life involves a considerable number of civil disputes, between neighbors, in the family, over debts, houses, public places, etc., which are disagreements of a commonplace nature. By developing democracy and educating themselves, the people will promptly, accurately and legally handle the disputes and prevent "making a triviality into a major matter" and "turning a civil matter into a criminal one." In terms of the stability of the state and the unity of the people, the significance is very great.

What is "the people's self-government in the basic level social life?"

In the plants, villages, stores, schools, neighborhoods, military units and primary organizations, besides the links and interchanges in the political, economic and cultural lives, there are also large numbers of regular contacts in social relations and dealings in social affairs among the people. It is what is called "basic level social life." "The people's self-government" means that the masses organize themselves to manage the affairs of the basic level society and educate themselves. Today, the people's mediation committee, for instance, has been generally set up in China's urban and rural areas. It is the people's self-governing organization which enables them to educate themselves and solve their own disputes by means of criticism and self-criticism. By way of its mediation activities, it not only promptly settles many civil disputes, preventing them from turning into criminal cases, but also propagandizes the party's policies and state laws and decrees, giving the masses a legal education and enhancing their concept of the socialist legal system. It also serves as a bridge between the party and the state and the people and constitutes a vital link of the socialist democracy. One may foresee that, with the further development of mass self-government in the basic level social life, the people will create self-governing organizations in many more forms.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED TO IMPROVE RELATIONSHIP OF PARTY TO PEOPLE EMPHASIZED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Li Zhenhai [2621 2182 3189] and Bao Zuzhi [0545 4371 1807]: "Widely Put into Effect the Provisional System of Tying Party Members to Individual Households"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, Baoding Prefecture has widely put into effect the provisional system of tying party members to individual households. So far, nearly 7,000 party members from party branches of 1,523 production brigades in 15 counties have established ties with some 200,000 households of commune members; party branches which have established ties with individual households make up 25 percent of party branches at basic levels.

After the establishment of the system of tying party members to individual households, party branches can now assign work to party members in more specific terms, and oversee their performances more effectively than ever. Each party member is required to take care of three to five households of commune members, to fulfill their assignments in every possible way and to strive for success in a competitive spirit. The result is the revitalization of the organization of the party and the strengthening of its fighting power. Gone is the state of disarray and weaknesses that once existed in many party branches. Previously, Yuanguang Production Brigade in Ding County was known for its social disorder, propensity for gambling, gang-style street fights, and wasteful practices. Since the enforcement of the system of tying party members to individual households beginning last year, party members have taken the initiative to rectify the party's work style, to educate commune members in the party's policies, and teach them to abide by law and discipline. In this way, they have solved many problems and turn their backward brigade into an advanced unit. In the past, the party committee of Pukou Commune in Gaoyang County faced many problems. Through the solicitation of opinions from the masses connected with households associated with party members and through the conscientious efforts to launch criticism and self-criticism, it has solved successfully problems caused by the dilatory style of work practiced by commune cadres, their frequent absence from office, and their wavering attitude toward the implementation of the party's policies, and has made the commune an advanced collective in the country.

The establishment of the system of tying party members to individual households has led party members to place strict demands on themselves, and raise their

consciousness of the need to do everything possible to glorify the party and serve the people's interests. When Liu Jinfu [0491 6651 4395], party member of Zhangqi Brigade of Ligang Commune in Lixian County, learned that his wife obtained a plot of land for building a new home without his knowledge, he immediately told her: "When our brigade faces difficulties in dispensing enough residential plots to commune members, and since we belong to a household of party members and don't need to build any new home for ourselves, we must give that plot of land to a needy commune member." Convinced, his wife later voluntarily returned the plot of land to the brigade. Xu Rong [1776 2837], the sister-in-law of Liu Shengnu [0491 0524 1166], member of the propaganda committee of the party branch of Zhangqi Brigade, after receiving a birth certificate for her first child, she wanted to bear another child in the future. After Liu Shengnu gave her repeated education aimed at helping her solve an ideological problem, she decided to back away from having another child. Because party members place strict demands on themselves, no women of child-bearing age in the brigade has raised children not permitted under the birth control program.

Under the newly established system of tying party members to individual households, party branches at grassroots levels in the countryside have secured the cooperation of individual households associated with party members in improving relations between the party and the masses. Through interviews and heart-to-heart talks made possible by individual households associated with party members, the party branch of Jiangchengdong Brigade in Mancheng County has collected more than 80 suggestions from commune members. One of the suggestions came from commune member Yuan Laoshui [5373 5071 3055] who urged his brigade to organize commune members to participate in a technical training program and study agricultural science and technology. After agreeing to this suggestion, the party branch invited technical personnel to give lectures on agricultural technology which have been welcomed by the masses and given impetus to the development of production. Commune members said, "Through individual households associated with party members, party branches can now promptly listen and respond to demands from the masses with satisfactory solutions."

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## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED FOR CADRES TO REDRESS GRIEVANCES EMPHASIZED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Xie Xixiu [6200 0823 0208]: "Let People Grab You by the 'Pigtail' and Shaving off the 'Pigtail'"]

[Text] The majority of our leading cadres are earnest and faithful servants of the people. But a small number of comrades are obsessed with special privileges are still pursuing their private interests and practicing unhealthy workstyles. For example, they have done everything possible in their power to obtain spacious housing units to themselves, to transfer their relatives and friends to better positions, and to give them preferential treatment for examining applications for party membership, for promoting cadres, for adjusting salary, and for recruiting new workers. In doing so, they will certainly leave "pig-tails" for others to grab [inviting criticism].

When you have a "pigtail," do you want others to grab it or would you rather cut it off? The masses said, "You should cut it off rather than let others grab you by the "pigtail," because it's better to criticize yourself than being picked on by others. If you don't, you will act like Ah Q who cheats himself and others by curling his pigtail up and hiding it under a hat. Is it embarrassing to you, if it is unveiled by the masses?

If you voluntarily move to eliminate the "pigtail" that belongs to you, you can boldly face up to any challengers who intend to grab you by the "pigtail." It's like a patient who should get treatment at an early stage so that his health can be restored sooner. It certainly will not cause one to lose face or prestige. On the contrary, it will earn you greater respect from the people. Some cadres on the Linzhang County party committee abused their power in the course of changing a certain segment of population from agricultural to non-agricultural status, thus leaving behind a "pigtail." At that time, some other cadres and people in the county immediately took the county party committee to "task" for making this change. In response to this criticism, the committee moved swiftly to settle this issue by sending back to the countryside 220 dependent children whose transfer to non-agricultural status was found violating the related regulations. This action has led it to raise rather than lower its prestige. The fact shows that if one does not want to be picked on one must not wear a pigtail. The best course of action is to voluntarily cut off one's pigtail.

At present, why do some leading comrades hesitate to remove their "pigtails"? The main reason that has prevented them from doing so is their obsession with selfish interests which have led them to forget the fundamental and long-term interests of the party and the people, and to regard themselves as bureaucratic overlords and the people as their "servants." Under the influence of this mentality, the pursuit of special privileges, backdoor dealings and other unhealthy lifestyles have become the order of the day. This practice is caused by the pernicious influence of feudalism and exploiting classes which is incompatible with the communist philosophy of life. Comrade Chen Yun said it well, "We must tell the truth rather than save face." Leading comrades should not be afraid to overcome their shortcomings. The important thing to do is to rid the fear of losing face, to voluntarily shave off the "pigtails" [to make self-criticism] and therefore become honest and open-hearted individuals.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY SCHOOL TRAINS TEACHERS, PARTY MEMBERS IN COMMUNIST THEORY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Zhen [3769 2182]: "Party School Holds Training Class for Instructors"]

[Text] Since 23 July, the party school of Xianghe County CPC Committee has scheduled a training class for basic level party branch teachers. Teachers hired by party branches at commune and brigade levels and under the jurisdiction of Xianghe County have been organized to study intensively basic theories and knowledge of party spirit, party style, party discipline and communism. The aim is to train an elite force for the extensive development of education in communism.

This training class is being held in response to the needs of a considerable number of basic level party branch teachers who lack basic knowledge of the party and who found it difficult to guide the study of this subject during a campaign to educate a large number of party members in communism, a campaign mounted by basic level party branches. The aim is to help students clearly understand, through integrating theory with practice, that the purpose of the CPC composed of advanced proletarian elements is to serve the people and its ultimate objective is to realize communism. Topics of instructional materials include "party work style is the key to the existence of the party, Communist Party members must restore and carry forward the three major styles of work, Communist Party members must maintain political unity with the Central Committee, Communist Party members must do away with the practice of the vulgar resorting to the use of connections [in getting things done] combating the criminal activities in the economic field is an important step in rectifying the party's work style, and strengthening education in party spirit is the key to the rectification of the party work style." In addition to the above teaching materials, four model party members including Wang Zongmin [3769 1350 2404], outstanding party member of Hebei Province and secretary of the party branch of Xinglongzhuang Brigade, and Kang Dequan [1660 1779 0356], outstanding party member of the Xianghe County farm machinery company, were invited to give reports on their experiences in preserving the party's excellent style of work, and in consciously striving to realize the objective of communism. Following 10 days of study and discussion which was proceeding in a way that take into account reality, and of training in communism, the 217 students attending the class have come to understand that at a time when the serious unhealthy tendencies still affect the party, it is extremely important to give communist education to vast numbers of party members. It is an important measure to mobilize the entire party to rectify the unhealthy tendencies and to safeguard the proletarian nature of the party.

## PARTY AND STATE

### GUANGZHOU PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE HOLDS CONFERENCE ON POLITICS, LAW

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 pp 1, 3

[Text] The Provincial CPC Party Committee held a province-wide politics and law working conference at Guangzhou from the 18th to the 26th of this month, which, in the spirit of the All-China Working Conference on Politics and Law, analyzed the excellent condition of politics and law work throughout the province since the Third Plenary Session, studied the tasks of politics and law work in the new era and set up plans for future work. The conference called on the broad masses of cadres and police personnel at the political and law front throughout the province to make further contributions to the defense of the economic construction of this southern entrance gate to our country.

Leading comrades of the provincial party committee and provincial people's government, such as Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138], Liu Tianfu [0491 3944 1133] and Liang Lingguang [2733 7227 0342] attended the conference. Kou Qingyan [1379 1987 1693], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and chairman of the provincial commission for politics and law, relayed at the meeting the spirit of the All-China Politics and Law Working Conference and gave the summing-up speech at the Conference. Wang Ding [3769 1380], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and provincial vice governor, gave a work report at the conference. Others attending the conference were personnel in charge of politics and law work in the various local and municipal party committees throughout the province and personnel in charge of politics and law units and from various units directly under the provincial administration.

The Conference agreed that the All-China Politics and Law Working Conference had been a very important one-time conference. Following the shift of focus in the work of the entire party, it has become the fundamental task of political and law work in the new era to protect and promote the modernization construction and permit the buildup of our material and spiritual civilization to develop smoothly. The work of the political and law organs has not become lighter, it has become heavier. The party committees must further strengthen their guidance of political and law work. The political and law organs must establish an ideology of service to the economic construction and bring fully into play their function as guardians of the people's democracy and as organs of dictatorship over the enemy, and must, with greater awareness, direct their energy to the protection and promotion of the socialist modernizations, centered on economic construction.



On the basis of the actual conditions in our province, the conference studied and made arrangements for task of political and law work at the present time and for a period of time to come:

We shall resolutely attack the serious economic criminal activities. The public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts at all levels must attend with firmness to the economic cases that have already been transferred to the political and law departments for investigation and disposal, especially the trial of major and important cases must be firmly taken in hand and sentence passed with the utmost strictness and speed. Especially serious new crimes in the economic field committed after publication by the Central Committee and the State Council of their resolution on combatting serious crimes in the economic field, must be punished with great severity. We are determined to continue to firmly take in hand the fight against smuggling. The political and law organs at all levels must overcome any thought of relaxing their efforts, must deal with all cases according to law, uphold our principles and eliminate all interferences. Convictions and measurement of penalty must be based on facts, with the law as the criterion.

We are determined to continue to rectify the public security in towns and villages. The focal points of such rectification are still the cities, the industrial and mining areas and vital communication lines, but attention must also be paid to cities and villages. The rectification shall be carried out by "comprehensive management" the focal point shall be an effective education of young people. We are determined to carry out a concentrated attack against militant actions of a criminal nature that jeopardize the buildup of our socialist spiritual civilization. We shall suppress and strike out against gambling, the formation of gangs by hoodlums, the spreading of feudal superstitions, the poison of obscene material and other violations of the law. In areas where the problems are particularly numerous, the local party committee must organize the political and law departments to carry out a conscientious analysis to discover the reasons and then adopt effective measures to bring about a solution. We are determined to strike out promptly against sabotage activities that might be committed by criminal elements and we shall uncover any criminals that are on the run and have gone into hiding. Murderers, rapists, armed bandits, arsenists, criminals using explosives and other criminal elements that seriously jeopardize public security shall be dealt with according to a policy of swift and severe punishment, and under no circumstances must one show softheartedness in such cases. We shall furthermore intensify our struggle against secret agents, spies and counterrevolutionary elements and shall resolutely crush their sabotage activities. We must reorganize and train a good contingent of political and law workers. The party has always set very strict demands on political and law cadres and has even raised these demands in the new historical era. We want to build up our political and law contingent according to the high demands made on the vanguard of the proletariat, carry out to perfection the organization of this contingent and the rectification of their ideology and work style, give intensive attention to the training of cadres and police personnel, set up good regular police and judicial training schools, law colleges, etc., to train a larger number of qualified political and law personnel.

The conference also studied such other problems as the improvement of propaganda on the legal system, improvement of the civil administration and the judicial work. The public security, procuratorial, law court, judicial and civil administration department held separate meetings.

In the afternoon of the 26th, Comrades Ren Zhongyi and Liu Tianfu attended the meeting and gave speeches. Comrade Ren Zhongyi pointed out that the political and law fronts in our province have done great work under the leadership of the party committees at all levels. They have achieved outstanding successes in dealing with all affairs according to law, in redressing unjust, false and wrong convictions, in rehabilitating public security, in combating the sabotage activities of secret agents, spies, counterrevolutionary and criminal elements, in combating the serious criminal activities in the economic field, and for all this deserve the praises of the party and the masses. However, we must not be satisfied with the present achievements, must guard against conceit and impetuosity, work ceaselessly and unremittingly, raise our standards and do everything to become well qualified political and law workers of the new era. The party's Third Plenary Session decided to have no more political movements in future; we must become apt at using the weapon of law to combat the class enemy and other criminal activities that do harm to our four modernizations. In his speech Comrade Ren Zhongyi particularly emphasized that we must do a good job at building up the political and law contingent, which must be politically pure, display a good work style and be proficient in their professional work. They must be boundlessly loyal to the party, to the people and the proletarian dictatorship, they must hate the enemy and love the people. At no time must they deal with the masses in the attitude that they show to the enemy, but through their own excellent work style and actual actions they must win the support of the people and have the people show affection, support and endorsement of our political and law departments. Comrade Ren Zhongyi furthermore pointed out that the party committees at all levels must all attach importance to the political and law work and strengthen their leadership of such work. The rehabilitation of public security is not only an affair of the political and law departments; it will only be done well if it is also given consideration by the leading organs of party and government, by the grassroots organizations of the party, by enterprise and industrial units, schools, households, etc. In his speech Comrade Liu Tianfu reviewed the inspiring changes that have occurred in our province since the Third Plenary Session. He said, political and law work belongs to the superstructure and must be set up with a firm ideology of serving the economic foundation. It must furthermore carry out a deep penetration into the work of various kinds of occupations. Owing to the special location of our province, the enemy directs an intensified sabotage against us. This is a prominent problem. We must prepare ourselves well spiritually for a protracted fight against hostile elements in the political, economic and cultural fields, in our social life and in other fields. In our contacts with the outside world, we must maintain our concepts of class struggle and of protection of secret information, and cannot abandon our vigilance. Although we will unswervingly continue our policy of opening up our country to the outside world and of enlivening the domestic economy, we shall also unswervingly maintain our opposition to any capitalist ideological corrosion

and take strong measures against serious criminal activities in the economic field. Only in this way will we be able to ensure that our open-door policy, our policy of enlivening the domestic economy, our special policies and flexible measures will be correctly put into effect.

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CSO: 4005/1316

## PARTY AND STATE

### GOOD WORK IN POLITICS, LAW DURING NEW PERIOD URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] The province-wide politics and law work conference called by the provincial CPC party committee was concluded a few days ago. Based on the spirit of the All-China Politics and Law Work Conference, the present conference analyzed the condition of present political and law work in our province, reviewed the historical experiences of such work and, directing its attention to the new problems arising from the shift of focus in our party's work to the socialist modernizations, studied the future tasks and measures for political and law work throughout our province; it was a one-time important conference. The leading organs at all levels and the political and law departments of the whole province were all determined to relay conscientiously and implement effectively, and as quickly as possible, the spirit of the present conference and after integrating it with the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, transmit this spirit to achieve a thorough implementation and thus raise the political and law work throughout the province to a high level appropriate for the new era.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the party, and following the shift of focus in the party's work, the fundamental task of political and law work in the new era has been to perfect the socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, protect and promote the socialist modernizations and ensure the smooth development of our buildup of the material and spiritual civilization. In these few years, the political and law departments at all levels and the whole body of cadres and police personnel performed a large amount of work around these tasks in a down-to-earth manner and achieved outstanding successes. Public security experienced a distinct turn for the better and stability and unity in the political situation have already been established, accelerating the ever improving industrial and agricultural production.

However, we must soberly observe that the work still lags very far behind if we compare it with the objective situation and the demands of the party and the masses. It is particularly worth pointing out that in certain localities the party committees and the political and law departments are not sufficiently knowledgeable as to the fundamental tasks of the political and law work in the new era. After the shift in the focus of work, the party committees in some places believed that the task of political and law work was lightened; they

only paid attention to economic construction but relaxed their leadership of political and law work. The political and law departments in some places did not bring fully into play the functions of the political and law organs, namely to protect and promote the socialist modernizations, and were not prompt enough and not resolutely forceful enough in combating the serious criminal activities that were jeopardizing the socialist system in its economic, political and cultural areas. Party committees and political and law departments in localities where this occurred must now, by studying the spirit of the All-China and the province-wide politics and law conferences and by a study of the important documents that are about to be passed by the impending 12th National Party Congress, set right their conceptions and in a down-to-earth manner do a good job at political and law work in this new era. The political and law departments of the whole province must all direct their energy in a more conscious, clearer, more definite and more resolute way, to the protection and promotion of the socialist modernizations, of which economic construction is the core item.

Our province lies along the ocean, adjacent to Hong Kong and Macao, and struggle here has always been sharp and complex. At present, owing to the influence of a variety of foreign and domestic factors, a series of intricate and complex new conditions and new problems has arisen, be it in the urban or the rural areas, in politics, economics or in the field of ideology and culture, be it with regard to our struggle against the enemy or in the administrative control of our public security. As our party and government organs at all levels and the political and law departments sum up the historical experiences, it is imperative that they institute simultaneously a penetrating and painstaking investigation and research into the new conditions and new problems, and furthermore work out without delay correct countermeasures that will solve the new problems, so that the problem will be resolved satisfactorily and the correct implementation of our open-door policy toward the outer world and our policy of enlivening the domestic economy will be safeguarded and that the healthy development of the socialist economic construction will be promoted. For one period of time, certain symptoms appeared in the area of public security in our province that merit attention, such as an intensified infiltration and sabotage of an international character by various kinds of reactionary forces, the increased incidence of lawless elements from Hong Kong and Macao entering the country to engage in smuggling, defrauding, abduction of women and in other criminal activities and the increased gambling, spreading of feudal superstitions and clan fights in certain rural areas. All this indicates that the impending struggle on the political and law front of our provinces will be a protracted, complex and arduous one. The leading organs at all levels and the political and law departments must maintain a high degree of vigilance against any such symptoms of crimes that may jeopardize our public security, sabotage our economic construction and against any other serious criminal activities. In ideological respects and in their work, none must show the slightest relaxation; they must inspire revolutionary enthusiasm and make new contributions toward our endeavor to realize a basic turn for the better in the social mood and in our public security, and toward promoting the buildup of our material and socialist spiritual civilization.

In this new historical era, the tasks of the political and law organs have become heavier and the condition has become more complex. At the present time and for some time to come, the political and law work in our province must be outstanding in taking firm and stern measures against serious criminal activities in the economic field, in rehabilitating public order in the urban and rural areas and in combating the sabotage by special agents, spies and counter-revolutionaries; there must also be a great propagandistic effort on behalf of the socialist legal system and further improvements must be achieved in the work of civil administration and in effectively reorganizing and building up the political and law contingents. All these many things cannot be resolved by only relying on the political and law departments. Apart from further strengthening the guidance of the political and law work by the party committees at all levels and apart from having the political and law departments closely following, on their own initiative, the guidance of the party committees, all sections of the society, all organs, organizations, factories, enterprises, schools and grassroots organizations in towns and villages as well as the broad masses must render actual support to the political and law departments and launch appropriate work in close cooperation with them, make joint efforts and for the sake of an effective socialist modernization, create an excellent political situation of stability and unity, which will promote the uninterrupted development of the excellent situation in our province.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### EXPERIENCE AS A REQUIREMENT FOR LEADERSHIP POST DISCUSSED

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 82 p 22

[Commentary by Xu Jingzhang [1776 2529 3864]: "A Trivial Talk About 'Experience'"]

[Text] At present, along with structural reform in our administration and readjustment of our leading groups, a large contingent of fine middle-aged and young cadres have embarked upon posts of leadership. The vast ranks of the masses are very excited about this, but a few people are worried: these young people lack sufficient experience, can they prove commensurate with their leadership work assignments? In my opinion, this worry might seem reasonable on the surface, it is really unnecessary.

We should acknowledge that experience is precious. Lu Xun said: "The experiences the ancients have passed down to us are precious, indeed, because they have cost them much sacrifice and the benefits they have left us are great." "The results from experience, whether good or bad, have usually required sacrifices, and sometimes even a minor occurrence might exact a surprising price." The experiences that either our predecessors or we have acquired by paying considerable prices should be treasured, because they are one of the advantageous conditions for doing a good job in our undertakings. Among the fine middle-aged and young cadres, if some are equipped with rich experiences, that would naturally be of benefit to us.

However, experience is not omnipotent. While it is an advantageous condition for a leading comrade to do a good job in his undertakings, it is not the only condition. In order to do a good job, a cadre needs many supporting factors, such as political consciousness, career ambition, organizational and leadership capability, professional level, scientific and cultural knowledge, health, etc. In general, these may be measured in terms of whether or not we are making them "revolutionary, younger, knowledgeable, and professional"; experience is only one aspect in this regard. In the case of some people, while they are experienced they happen to be used to following the beaten paths and lack organizational talent, in their work they do not make any breakthroughs and it often proves hard for them to become good leaders. Others although they lack experience in departments at the superior level they do have experience in departments at the lower level and their other qualifications also happen to be rather good, they show courage and perception in their work, they can explore new avenues in their practice, and once promoted they quickly acquire the necessary competence for their new jobs. Furthermore, the extent of

applicability of certain experience is also limited. The experience of building terraced fields in the Taihang Mountains can hardly be applied in the great northeastern plain. At the same time, experience must be continually renewed and enriched. Many past experiences can no longer be borrowed in the construction of today's four modernizations. Some comrades who have accumulated rich experiences during the years of the revolutionary war can hardly avoid showing up their deficiencies in the face of this new issue of the construction of our four modernizations. Therefore, even though experience is precious, our appraisal of its role and value must be objective and appropriate and definitely not partially exaggerated.

So-called experience means the knowledge we sum up or the skills we derive from our practice. If divorced from practice, there is no way to speak of experience. Middle-aged and young cadres are not as experienced as old cadres; this is an objective fact. The key in changing this situation lies precisely in providing them with the opportunities and conditions for practice. Only by placing them in given circumstances can we enable them to train themselves into leaders with rich experience and operational capabilities. So long as our party organizations at various levels seek to create conditions for our fine middle-aged and young cadres, they should be able to gradually grow. For a comrade who has never served in a leadership office, it is very difficult for him to acquire any leadership experience. The leadership experience of Mao Zedong and other revolutionary predecessors were very rich; but when they began to engage in revolutionary activities, their experience was insufficient, because at that time there were neither the experiences of the ancients to follow nor fairly abundant foreign experiences to borrow. It was precisely by continuing to sum up experiences in their revolutionary practice that they passed through a process from lacking sufficient experience to possessing rich experience and thereby became outstanding revolutionary leaders.

Those who are worried about young people lacking sufficient experience may have another idea: they think young people lack sufficient qualifications. We should say that both qualifications and experiences are useful and cannot be overlooked. But in selecting and using exemplary middle-aged and young cadres we cannot pay attention only to qualifications or only to whether or not they have had experience in serving in a particular office: rather it should be based on virtue and talent, pay attention to discovering the actual capabilities of these cadres in directing their work, solving their problems, and exploring new situations. Only thus can we select a large contingent of undaunted, perceptive, and really talented organizers, directors, to implement and realize the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee.

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### PERSONNEL CHANGES OF CPC 12TH CONGRESS ANALYZED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 10, Oct 82  
pp 16-19

[Article by Ch'i Hsin [7871 6580]: "Personnel Changes of the CPC 12th Congress"]

[Text] The CPC 12th Congress passed a new party constitution on 6 September. It stipulates that, among the three central organs, the Central Committee occupies the leading position, and the remaining two, viz., the Advisory Commission and the Commission for Discipline Inspection, not only must accept the leadership of the Central Committee and serve as its "assistants and consultants," but the chairman of the Advisory Commission and the first secretary of the Commission for Discipline Inspection must be members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, thereby indicating that the supreme power of the CPC leadership level, after system reform, still concentrates in the Central Committee and its Politburo and Secretariat. The other two organs are in a subordinate position, especially the Advisory Commission. JENMIN RIBAO states clearly that it is "a transition between life tenure and the retirement system in the cadre policy." In other words, those elected to the Advisory Commission are in a status of semi-retirement. Naturally, Deng Xiaoping, who has been elected to the Standing Committee of the Politburo and serves concurrently as the chairman of the Advisory Commission, is the only exception.

In view of these stipulations in the new party constitution, we can see from the elections, which started on 10 September, to the Politburo, Secretariat and Military Commission who have joined the power center and who have been excluded. In other words, we can see more or less the personnel changes in the CPC from the list resulting from the elections of the 12th Party Congress.

#### Changes in the Highest Level

When checking the six members elected to the Standing Committee of the Central Committee against the personnel after the Sixth Plenary Session

last year, we find that only Hua Guofeng has been omitted, and no new member has been added. If checked against its members after the 11th Party Congress in 1978, then Hua Guofeng and Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281] are omitted and Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and Chen Yun have been added.

Among the 28 members and alternates of the Politburo, when checked against the personnel after the 6th Plenary Session last year, the omissions are Liu Bocheng [0491 0130 2110], Hua Guofeng, Xu Shiyu [6079 0013 0645], Geng Biao [5105 7374], Peng Chong [1756 0394] and Sai Fuding [6357 4395 7844], and the additions are Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 0534], Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807], Song Renqiong [1345 0117 4522], Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606], Liao Chengzhi [1675 2110 1807], Yao Yilin [1202 0181 2651] and Qin Jiwei [4440 1015 0251]. When checked against the personnel after the 11th Party Congress in 1978, the omissions include also Wang Dongxing, Chen Xilian [7115 6932 5114], Ji Dengkui [4764 4098 1145], Wu De [0702 1795], Chen Yonggui [7115 3057 6311] and the deceased Su Zhenhua [5685 2182 5478], and the additions include Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Chen Yun, Wang Zhen [3769 7201], Peng Zhen [1756 4176], Song Renqiong and Deng Yingchao [6772 7336 6389] who have successively joined the Politburo through by-elections since the 11th Party Congress.

Among the secretaries and alternates of the Central Secretariat, the additions include Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028], Yang Yong [2799 0516], Chen Peixian [7115 0012 7359], Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539], Qiao Shi [0829 4258] and Hao Jianxiu [6787 1696 4423]; those not reelected include Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850], Fang Yi [2455 3015], Song Renqiong, Yang Dezhi, Hu Qiaomu and Peng Chong, a total of six. Among the six, except Wang Renzhong and Peng Chong, all have joined the Politburo.

The chairman of Military Commission is Deng Xiaoping, and the vice chairmen are Ye Jianying [5509 0494 5391], Xu Xiangqian [1776 0686 0467], Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271] and Yang Shangkun (standing vice chairman).

Among the supreme power structures discussed above, viz., the Central Standing Committee, Politburo, Secretariat and Military Commission, the most notable promotions and demotions are as follows: On the promotion side are the six new members of the Secretariat and alternate member Qin Jiwei of the Politburo, especially new secretary Chen Peixian who has been almost completely inactive in recent years and has shown no sign of promotion. On the demotion side are Geng Biao and Peng Chong. Geng Biao was appointed minister of National Defense not long ago, and his star seemed to be rising, yet this time he actually joined the Advisory Commission, and his name was not among the vice chairmen of the Military Commission. It appears that he will not remain as National Defense minister for long. Peng Chong had served concurrently as a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Secretariat in recent years, and there had been no indication of his fall from power. He was reelected member

of the Central Committee, but has no share in the Politburo or the Secretariat. It seems that his membership on the Central Committee is similar to Hua Guofeng's.

#### Special Features in the List of Central Committee Members

Among the 348 regular and alternate members of the Central Committee, 211, or over 60 percent of the total, joined the committee for the first time. These new members include the main responsible persons of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, ministers and ministers-in-charge of the ministries and commissions of the State Council, and some of the leaders of organs directly under the CPC Central Committee. Among the former members of the Central Committee, some joined the Advisory Commission in order to make room for younger men, but more of them lost their positions because of "failing to keep pace with the situation" in the purge of the remnant poison of the Cultural Revolution or in the various policy changes in recent years. The condition applies especially to the leaders of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. During the time of the 11th Party Congress in 1978, basically the cadres who had been in power in the later stage of the Cultural Revolution and showed support when Hua Guofeng arrested the gang of four served as leaders in the various areas. These people occupied a fairly large number of seats in the Central Committee, especially military men of local areas. This time, most of them joined the Advisory Commission, such as Wang Bicheng [3769 1801 2052], Wang Xinting [3769 2450 0080], Kong Shiquan [1313 4258 3123], Gan Weihai [3927 3262 3352], Xu Shiyu, Zhang Caiqian [1728 2088 0578], Fu Zhong [0265 6945], etc., and some actually fell into disgrace, such as Liu Xingyuan [0491 5281 0337], Ren Sizhong [0117 1835 1813], Zeng Siyu [2582 1835 3768], Wu Zhong [0702 1813], etc.

Among the new members of the Central Committee, besides the leaders (or potential leaders) of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, most of the councilors, ministers of the ministries, and ministers-in-charge of the commissions appointed after the structural reform of the State Council last May joined the Central Committee, but there are also some exceptions. Councilors Geng Biao, Bo Yibo [5631 0001 3134] and Ji Pengfei [1213 7720 7378] joined the Advisory Commission, and some ministers, such as Nuclear Industry minister Zhang Chen [1728 1820] and Electronics Industry minister Zhang Ting [1728 2185] were not elected to the Central Committee, possibly because they were appointed ministers as professionals and their qualifications in the party were not high. The oddest case was Du Xingyuan [2629 2502 0997], secretary general of the State Council, a position of considerable importance: His name was not found among the regular and alternate members of the Central Committee.

In May, the CPC Central Committee announced the appointment of a group of leading cadres to some units among the organs directly under its jurisdiction, but at the 12th Party Congress this time, these new appointees, unlike the ministers and ministers-in-charge of the State Council, were

not elected to the Central Committee en masse. Only the director of General Office Hu Qili, director of Propaganda Department and concurrently director of Policy Research Office of the Secretariat Deng Liqun, and director of International Liaison Department Qiao Shi joined the Secretariat. In addition, president of the Party School Wang Zhen was elected to the Politburo; director of United Front Work Department Yang Jingren [2799 7234 0088], director of Party History Research Center Hu Sheng [5170 4939], editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO Qin Chuan [4440 1557] and deputy editor in chief of HONGQI Wang Renzhi [3769 1804 0037] were elected to the Central Committee. All others failed to join the Central Committee.

One of the leading cadres of organs directly under the Central Committee whose fall from grace was notable was director of RENMIN RIBAO Hu Jiwei [5170 4921 0251], an outstanding figure in the ideological emancipation movement in recent years. His promotion from editor in chief to director of the paper last May was actually a demotion. Thus, in the elections this time, he and deputy editor in chief Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055] who had played an important role in the ideological emancipation movement alongside him were not listed among the regular and alternate members of the Central Committee, but new editor in chief Qin Chuan became a regular member. There were also the following notable casualties: Feng Wenbin [7458 2429 1755], once director of General Office, was replaced by Hu Qili during the structural reorganization of the CPC Central Committee in May, but still served as a vice president of the Party School, deputy director of Party History Research Center and chairman of Commission for Collecting Party Historical Data. By shifting from decision making to work on "superior tradition" education, his power was weakened, and he dropped further by joining the Advisory Commission during the 12th Party Congress. Liao Gailong [1675 5556 7127], who designed the "1980 reform" in compliance with Deng Xiaoping's wishes, was transferred from the Policy Research Office of the Secretariat to Party History Research Center and Commission for Collecting Party Historical Data as deputy director and vice chairman respectively in May. His name was not found among any of the committees at the 12th Party Congress, indicating his loss of importance to a certain extent. HONG QI editor in chief Xiong Fu [3574 1788] also failed to be elected to the Central Committee, yet his subordinate, deputy editor in chief Wang Renzhi, became an alternate member of the Central Committee. It was also an unusual occurrence.

#### Conjectures on the Reasons for the Changes

As it is very difficult to ascertain the factors influencing the election results discussed above, we can only make some inferences.

Very possibly Geng Biao's and Peng Chong's downfall had a certain connection with Hua Guofeng. When Hua Guofeng ordered the arrest of the gang of four in 1976, Wang Dongxing's unit No 8341 made the actual arrest, Geng Biao's International Liaison Department took over the Central Committee's

information media (including newspapers and broadcasting stations), and Peng Chong, Su Zhenhua and Ni Zhifu [0242 1807 3189] were dispatched to Shanghai to suppress the fermenting coup. All these individuals rendered outstanding service to Hua Guofeng, and they were old cadres returning to power not long after the start of the Cultural Revolution. They cooperated considerably with Hua Guofeng, and their experiences were different from those of Hu Yaobang, Wan Li and Xi Zhongxun who suffered quite a bit in the Cultural Revolution. Perhaps they did not make major mistakes like Hua Guofeng, but also perhaps they rendered mutual support in power and position. Possibly it was one of the reasons for their downfall. Hua Guofeng fell from power during the trial of the gang of 10 at the end of 1980. It is believed that the trial of Xu Jingxian [1776 2529 6343], Wang Xiuzhen [3769 4423 3791] and Ma Tianshui [7456 1131 3055], followers of the gang of four in Shanghai, before the 12th Party Congress was convened, and the downfall of Peng Chong (another was Su Zhenhua), who went to Shanghai in those days to handle the Shanghai gang, during the party congress immediately thereafter were not coincidences, but had their internal reasons. That deputy director of International Liaison Department Feng Xuan [7458 6881] who helped Geng Biao in his work after the downfall of the gang of four also joined the Advisory Commission this time perhaps was also related.

The actual loss of power of Feng Wenbin, Hu Jiwei, Wang Ruoshui and Liao Gailong seems to be related to their "exceeding the limit" in the ideological emancipation movement. In 1980, Feng Wenbin published an article in RENMIN RIBAO opposing "the party's centralized leadership" and supported the view that "democracy is the goal as well as the means, but in the final analysis, it is the goal." Beginning in 1978, Hu Jiwei advocated the critical role of newspapers (see XINWEN ZHANXIAN [NEWS FRONT], No 6, 1979), started a "letters to the editor" column, and expressed passive resistance in the criticism of Bai Hua [4101 2901] last year, refusing to reprint or respond to the articles against Bai Hua in JIEFANGJUN BAO. Wang Ruoshui advocated criticizing Mao and introduced the alienation theory. Etc., etc. All these individuals rendered meritorious service when Deng and Hu struggled against the whatever faction. Yet, when balancing the influence of the anti-reform faction, possibly they were considered "extremists" or suspected of helping promote bourgeois liberalism, and were made into targets of intraparty criticism. If the election results of the 12th Party Congress were the consequences of the search for compromise among the various factions, then the temporary removal of the "radicals" of the various factions was very natural.

In terms of the leading cadres of organs directly under the Central Committee during the reorganization in May, the real power probably fell to the younger cadres serving as deputy directors and vice chairmen. Their names had seldom been heard in the past, and it is believed that they were cadres of the League Central Committee when Hu Yaobang was the first secretary of the Communist Youth League. As their party standing and qualifications were still low, under the situation where it was yet impossible to basically change the seniority practice, it was natural that

they failed to be elected to the Central Committee. Nevertheless, with the gradual consolidation of Hu Yaobang's power, their importance will certainly be felt. Judged on this point, the election results of the Central Committee do not necessarily reflect completely the rise and fall of power in the personnel aspect.

The conditions of the army are also difficult to fathom. After Deng Xiaoping became the chairman of the Military Commission at the end of 1980, the choice of his right-hand man was a matter of concern. When Geng Biao became the minister of National Defense, he was thought for a time as the one most likely to succeed Deng Xiaoping. Now this likelihood has vanished. The youngest among the chairman and vice chairmen of the Military Commission elected at the 12th Party Congress is Yang Shangkun who is already 75 years old. Yang Dezhi and Yang Yong among the members of the Politburo are both over 70. Only Qin Jiwei, a new alternate member of the Politburo, is 68 years old this year. There was a rumor last year that some regional commanders led their troops to attend a meeting in Beijing and took a menacing posture toward the reform faction, but fortunately Beijing unit commander Qin Jiwei came to the aid with his men and eased the tension. No one has been able to verify the rumor. Nevertheless, the large reduction of the power of the military, especially local military men, in the Politburo and the Central Committee is a fact. As for the promotion of Qin Jiwei, even if it had nothing to do with the rumor, at least it was perhaps connected with the service rendered by him in the struggle against Beijing unit commander Chen Xilian when the former was the political commissar of the unit (prior to September 1978).

As the election results were the consequences of compromise among the various factions, as the aging senior statesmen still occupy the decision making positions of the supreme level, as many former cadres of the Communist Youth League should have joined the Central Committee but have not done so, and as, in terms of the army, Geng Biao has lost his power, the leaders of the Military Commission are too old and the distribution of power has not been finalized, one cannot feel that the election results of the 12th Party Congress have decided the personnel of the CPC leadership level in the future. It is believed that there will be continuous changes in the personnel of the Military Commission, Politburo and its Standing Committee, and the Secretariat in future plenary sessions of the Central Committee, and some additional individuals may be elected to the Central Committee, to be retroactively approved at the 13th Party Congress.

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